593

Equivalence Rules

1. The Equivalence of a Woman's Brother and her Son. On Tables IV, V, and VI we have already made some preliminary notes on Bororo kin classification which shows equivalence of a woman's brother and her son in certain contexts. In consanguineal domain there is an equivalence between a person's mother's brother and his or her brother (imana or ivuri, and iviye) and between a woman's brother's child and her son's child (ivaqedu and iraqo). In the affinal domain there is an equivalence between wife's brother and wife's son (itonaregedu) and between a woman's brother's wife and her son's wife (iraqo). The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals holds true, i.e., in the consanguineal domain there is an equivalence between a man's sister's children and his own siblings (iviye), and between a person's father's sister and his or her father's mother (imaruqo). In the affinal domain there is an equivalence between a man's sister's husband and his mother's husband (inodowu), and between a woman's husband's sister and her husband's mother (imaruqo). We see that only a woman's own brother is not classified as her "son." We have here an example of Lounsbury's Crow-type IV. This can be phrased as: with the exception of the case of female Ego's brother as a designated kinsman, any woman's brother is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to her son. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: with the exception of the case of male Ego's sister as a designated kinswoman, any man's sister is

593 to be regarded as structurally equivalent to his mother. Or in symbolic notation:

$$(\overbrace{♀B} \rightarrow \overbrace{♀S}) \equiv (\overbrace{♂S} \rightarrow \overbrace{♂H})$$

The new symbol that is here used, a bracket above a kin type, means that the concerned kin type is contextually restricted from one side or the other, and that the right-hand and left-hand context restrictions cannot be removed at the same time, although both may apply at the same time.

2. The Equivalence of Brothers. The Bororo data indicate that only consanguineal kin types and, among them, only brothers, are classified in conformity with a principle of equivalence of siblings of the same sex; i.e., a man's brother's children and his own children are in the same kin class (itonaregedu), but a man's brother's wife and his own wife are in different classes (irago and itoreduje respectively). Also a woman's sister's children (ivuri, ituye or iviye) and her own children (itonaregedu); are in different classes as well as a woman's sister's husband (inodowu or ivagedu) and her husband (itoredu). Thus the merging rule must be written accordingly, specifying the equivalence of brothers in consanguineal contexts, and excluding the equivalence of sisters, as well as of affinal contexts. The rule states any man's brother's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's father's brother is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father. In symbolic notation, this rule and its

593 converse can be expressed as:

$$(\delta Bc \rightarrow \delta c) \equiv (FB \rightarrow F)$$

604 593 3. The Equivalence of Mother's Sister and Own Sister. It remains to be seen how a woman's sister's children are classified. If we examine the data we see that they are in the same class as a woman's siblings and her mother's siblings: any woman's sister's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that woman's sibling. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's sister is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sister. In symbolic notation this parallel-collateral skewing rule and its converse can be expressed as:

$$(\varphi Sc \rightarrow \varphi B/S) \equiv (MS \rightarrow S)$$

It can be readily seen that this rule, together with the Crow-type IV skewing rule in the consanguineal domain, expresses the equivalence of a child and his, or her, mother in certain contexts. We could even combine these two rules into a collateral skewing rule which would affect both parallel and cross collateral kin types, stating the equivalence of a person's mother's siblings, with a person's own siblings. This form would be quite convenient if we had set as our task to account only for consanguineal kinship terms. But, since in dealing with affinal kin types we would have to introduce again the Crow-type skewing rule, it seems better to write the rules separately as we have done. Furthermore, unless one is a total 'relativist,' then typology is a legitimate and meaningful concern; in which case one

604 wants to recognize that this is a Crow-type system, and one
593 wants to bring out what kind of a Crow-type it is. However it should be clear that the alternative is not between different solutions, but only between two ways of expressing the same thing.

593 4. The Equivalence of Half Siblings and Full Siblings. The Bororo data indicate that half siblings and full siblings are classified together, thus the rule expressing structural equivalence between half siblings and full siblings, does not present any restriction: any person's parent's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sibling. In symbolic notation:

$$Pc \rightarrow B/S$$

With the four rules derived so far, all the Bororo consanguineal kin types, except some alternative designations, can be reduced to their primary meanings.

5. The Equivalence of Stepfather and Father; the Non-equivalence of Stepmother and Mother. A man's stepchild and his own are terminologically equivalent (itonaregedu). In symbolic notation:

$$Wc \rightarrow c$$

i.e., any man's wife's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's husband is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father:

$$MH \rightarrow F$$

593 The corollary appears not to hold because father and stepfather belong to two different kin classes, iyoqwa and inodowu respectively. There are several reasons for classifying these together into a single superclass "FATHER." One has already been mentioned: they have the same reciprocals. If iyoqwa and inodowu were to be regarded as two separate classes, the commonly shared reciprocal class of "child" would also have to be subdivided in two classes: one of "consanguineal child" and the other of "stepchild." This, however, would be in disagreement with the data, and another rule would be necessary to merge these two classes again. Secondly, other kin types such as father's mother's husband and father's sister's husband (which by the Crow rule is reduced to father's mother's husband) would require the reintroduction of a step-kin rule in order to be reduced to their corresponding focus, which is father's father. Finally, though stepfather is the focal point of the inodowu class, in practice the stepfather is always addressed by his stepchild as "father" (iyoqwa), or by his name if the stepchild is an adult, And also in making reference to him (non-vocative), the stepchild will tend to use the term iyoqwa or his proper name.

593 *601

The term otowu (otowu is the third person singular of inodowu) which refers also to a man's sister's husband has become somewhat deprecative: it connotes the wife-receiver, the debtor, who cannot refuse to comply with his wife's brothers' wishes. Thus a child calls his stepfather who

This is the third time that the structural equivalence of the child and his or her mother is required in accounting for kin terms. Though the social correlates of the rules will be discussed in subsequent chapters, we may even now start to wonder about the nature and importance of the mother-child relation for the Bororo.

There are still some more kin types that remain to be discussed. The first is "father's child." By our step-kin rule, father's children, younger than Ego, are considered younger siblings and are classified appropriately as iviye, or vocatively as imedu and aredu. (An alternative designation for them is ikobo. This term is applied both referentially and vocatively, but only knowledgeable members of the society use it at all, and then only very rarely.) However, if the person's father's child is a member of the opposite moiety (i.e., if their common father had the child by a woman of his own moiety), he will not be addressed by any kinship term at all. The Bororo say that it is not polite to remind a brother that he is the child of an endogamous relation. Thus he will usually be addressed by his name. "...but," said one of my informants, "if my sister from the other moiety makes sexual advances to me, I should say to her 'Do not play with me, the same father caused our birth, so do not behave in this way, I am your brother (avuri).'"[1]

There are two other kin types that differ, in the system

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[1] "Awadu kaba, pao mitodu koyare pawodudo. Kodire aro modu kare ino. Avuri nure imi."

*601 of address, from their referential forms. These are "hus-
● 593 band" and "wife," whose referential forms are itoredu, itoreduje. A man will address his wife as imarugo (reciprocal: ivagedu) or aredu (reciprocal: iyogwa), depending on her belonging to his father's clan, or her being the daughter of his true or classificatory brother, or they will call each other by their names. It seems that even a descriptive form is considered very formal in reference to one's spouse, and is rarely, if ever, used in first person singular. A person speaking about the spouse will use his or her name. I heard the terms for wife and husband being used only with second and third person pronouns: "Where is your husband (akoredu)?", "Where is his wife (oreduje)?" The Bororo say that a wife will call her husband itoredu only if he acts in a good way to her brothers, i.e., all of his classificatory children; and it seems that these good stepfathers are very rare among contemporary Bororo.

The last kin type that remains to be discussed is "mother's husband." As previously mentioned, although this kin type is the focal kin type of the class indowu, this term is never used in addressing the true mother's husband. The small child will call his mother's husband iyogwa; grown-ups will call him by the terms they would use if he were not married to their mother.

Specific Terms

*601 The Bororo kinship terminology presented so far is defective with regard to the different shades of meaning possible within any particular kin class. These differences are communicated by the adjectives pega and rogu and their compound pega-rogu added to both referential and vocative terms. These adjectives are so much part of the common usage that even their absence is significant. In the Bororo language pega means "bad" or "old," and rogu means "small," but when suffixed to a kinship term they function as part of a special semantic domain. Some of these combinations of noun and adjectives are obligatory for particular kin types, while others are freely chosen by the speaker in order to convey the [593] desired feelings. For example, iyogwa without an adjective is the obligatory vocative term for one's own father, while iyogwa pega is the obligatory vocative term for one's mother's father. [603] However, women may address their mother's father, if he is very, very old, as iyogwa pega-rogu. [605] The use of adjectives with the term imarugo follows a similar pattern, the only difference being that the man is allowed to allude to possible intimacy with his father's sister's daughter. Therefore he calls her imarugo pega or imarugo *601 pega-rogu if she is still a child. A man will always ad- 606 dress his wife's mother formally, i.e., imarugo, but if she is so old that any possible involvement between the two is unthinkable, he may address her affectionately imarugo pega. An old woman from the opposite moiety who has many daughters

*601 with whom one may flirt, will be jokingly referred to as
606 pajarugo pega-rogu, meaning in this case "our poor little mother-in-law." Also the father of the girls will be called payedaga pega-rogu "our poor little father-in-law," while the women will use this same expression only for a very old man close to death. The term for the wife's true father, and for one's namegiver who is not very old, will remain iyedaga without an adjective.

Another good example of manipulation of the available contrastive set can be seen in the relation between a woman and her daughter-in-law. If a child marriage was contracted, the woman will call her small daughter-in-law irago rogu. When the girl grows up and gradually takes over her responsibilities toward her husband and his mother, she will call her daughter-in-law irago pega if the two women are on good terms and the mother-in-law is satisfied by the attentions paid to her. If, on the other hand, their relations are not so good, she may show her dissatisfaction by calling her only irago. Finally when the mother-in-law is called to assist a daughter-in-law in labor, she will express her affection and concern for the girl by calling her irago pega-rogu.

*601 Another final distinction expressed through the use of
● 593 adjectives is that made between true siblings and "siblings" arrived at by extragenealogical, social extensions. In the first case rogu will be added to the respective term, but will be omitted in the second instance. The following di-

The following diagram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the adjectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
∅	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illustrated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be always addressed formally, as will the class of inodowu ("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that are normally used. The diagram does not include some special cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection with death. For example, if the living representative of one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as itonaregedu pega. An ironic use of imuga rogu and imarugo pega-rogu will be taken up later in discussing kinship terminology used for joking.

593 provides and cares for him "father," a broader term which
*601 does not have this derogatory connotation.

All these considerations show that the equivalence rule is correct, and that the classes of "father" and "mother's husband" should be included in a hypothetical superclass "FATHER," which can in turn be broken down into the subclasses of "father" and "stepfather" by componential definitions.

The kin types "father's wife" and "father's brother's wife" are not in our list of kin terms. The Bororo do not consider them as relatives: one's stepmother is not regarded as a relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: a woman's stepchild is not regarded as a relative. In symbolic notation:

$$FW \rightarrow \emptyset \qquad Hc \rightarrow \emptyset$$

Thus far we have accounted for most consanguineal and step types. The Bororo kinship terminology does not have any separate "in-law" terms, therefore the next step is to see how the in-laws are merged with consanguineal categories.
[603] In addition an alternative classification of mother's brother and mother's mother's brother as "grandfather" (iyedaga) should be discussed.

582 6. Naming Rule. Bororo ideology places emphasis on the positive prescription to marry in the opposite moiety rather than on the negative proscription not to marry in the same moiety, i.e., on the alliance between moieties rather than on a prohibition of "incest." Marriage should ideally

*601 brother's wife should be called imarugo ("grandmother"), a man's younger brother's wife should be called itonaregedu ("child"). By similar derivations a woman's older sister's husband would be reduced to iyogwa ("father"), and a woman's *601 younger sister's husband to ivagedu ("grandson"). But only 607 one of these designations is correct: a woman refers to her younger sister's husband as ivagedu, while she refers to her older sister's husband as inodowu ("stepfather"). And a man refers to his brothers' wives as irago ("granddaughter"). It is obvious that in affinal domain, the same sex siblings are not equivalent. To bring them to their focal kintypes we need yet other rules.

*601 Expansion of Rule 1: the Equivalence of a Woman's Sister and her Mother. A woman's older sister's husband is classified as "stepfather." Her younger sister's husband as [593] "grandson." The rule necessary to account for this clas- [603] sification requires that a woman's older sister, in this context, be equivalent to that woman's mother, and that a woman's younger sister be equivalent to that woman's daughter. This rule and the rule of equivalence of mother's sister and own sister show fundamental similarities. They can be combined and written together, specifying the equivalence of a woman's sister and her mother.

$$(\overline{\varphi S} \rightarrow \overline{\varphi M}) = (\overline{\varphi S} \rightarrow \overline{\varphi d})$$

This rule and its corollary should not be applied to the same context. The applicability of the upward and downward equivalence should be restricted as follows: if "♀" is M,

*601 561 ipebutojaqiwu ("the one born after me"), or kodulrekodajiwu ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers, the oldest will be described as etumanareu ("their older brother"), the second as boyadadawu ("the one in the middle"), and the youngest one as etuviyereu ("their younger brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be addressed as imedregedu. Finally there is a special term for a man's first born son, ikenojiwu ("the one on my nose," which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

*601 607 *601 There are still a few more alternative terms that should be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quarrels with his sister's husband, he will call the latter otoqududoqedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity). He will be called in return by his proper name instead of imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may choose to call each other reciprocally either ito inowu ("the one like me") or imeduya ("my companion") instead of iyedaqa and ivagedu. Similarly two women married to the same man, will call each other reciprocally either itoydo ("the one like me") or imedago ("my companion"). There are also some conventional expressions used when two people speak about a third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

*601 ● 593

*601 593 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband). A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your companion). Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite *601 576 to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana oreduje kodure)?"

Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 611 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a person is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, the relationship traced through the mother takes precedence over the one traced through the father. In case FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over *601 593 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 607 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband" to each other they will call each other either inodowu or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally observe this kind of relation.

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
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616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
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Birth

842 A child may have many fathers. Any man who has had sexual relations with the child's mother before or during pregnancy is considered one of the genitors, and is designated a "father" of the child. Both father (or fathers) and mother are equally responsible for the physical and mental characteristics of the child. Often the Bororo make comments about children saying that they are pretty or ugly, good or bad, some taking after their father, some after their mother. Different characteristics may have been taken from different fathers. As the chief of the village where I worked once told me: "I had two fathers, from the first I received my stature, and that is why I am so short. From my second father I received my heart." His second father had been a big chief and a knowledgeable man from whom he had learned the traditions and songs of the tribe. For the Bororo there is no such thing as a fatherless child. Everyone has a father, and the more fathers one has the better it [115] is for him. The knowledge of my informant was great because, as the Bororo explained to me, he was the son of the village wanton. Therefore all his fathers, all the men from the opposite moiety, taught him songs and stories. It is the duty 58 *601 of the child's mother to inform the boy or the girl when grown up enough to understand who his biological fathers are, and to teach him the kinship terms he should use for them and for their brothers, mothers and sisters.

000 Even now the ideal marriage is one contracted between a

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
899
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
844 into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffo-
846 cate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
224 duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
226 the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
261 ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
276
545 drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
827 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
846 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
826 only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
252 or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
291 white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
292

593 846 834 [854] [856] white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of continence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child. [302]

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings. *[60]

842 593 855 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

593 578 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory [593 835 522] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual relation with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on this. [578] Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his 593 835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 593 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585 539] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje, uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[594] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent; where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers" are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and their wives.

000their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on marriage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual relations with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father. It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

[553] Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [201] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the ceremony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, [723] who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

• [593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[776] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fishermen is a very unselfish job because the man who does it remains without game and will depend for food on the good will of the others.)

The first words of the speech, "This is your wife," also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

596 855 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will depend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's 591 596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

593 461 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a 593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man, 484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

success from the economic point of view, but what is more important seems to be the pleasure that the couple derive from being alone, away from their families, and free from continuous observation of the rules of public conduct.

There are advantages in having brothers and sisters: the brothers will be a support during quarrels, and the sisters will send their siblings gifts of food, part of what they collect in the woods, or pieces of the game their husbands kill. A man will receive food from his brother's wife if he does not have any closer relative. On the other hand, a man finds some disadvantages in having many brothers: the competition in asserting oneself in ceremonies is much stronger, especially if the knowledge and ability of the brothers is comparable. There will be a lot of tension and envy among ambitious brothers in competing for the honor of being called on as a performer by the yorubodare lineage from the other moiety. A wife who has many brothers can also be a handicap. One will have to hunt and fish not only for the wife's mother and father, but he will have to send part of the food to her brothers too. They may frequently come to ask for ornaments and artifacts, for hunting and fishing tools, all of which the husband is supposed to give to his brothers-in-law without showing any sign of dissatisfaction. He cannot even ask for recompence, mori, as he would do with anybody else, because, as the Bororo say, "he is living with his compensation" (mori tabo rugaduye tumugure oino kodi)—with the sister that they have given him in marriage.

868 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with
562 small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as
868 adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is
[822] his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

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• 593 If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.

But suppose you do not listen to your father's

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words. He wants to teach you but you do not care and as a consequence you remain ignorant. The people will say, "It may be that his father was ignorant, and because of this he does not know anything." I know things and thus the people do not gossip about my father. People say about me, "With him is his father's knowledge and reason."

Another example. The people do not quarrel with your father or with your mother, nor do they quarrel with you; they will say, "Yes, he is the true child of his parents, he is just like they are." But if you fight and quarrel with people, they will say: "He is not the child of his parents; they are different."

However, if your father does not know things, you will kill some animal, you will catch some fish, and you will give them to someone who knows things, and he will teach you. The people will then say, "The father is no good, and yet his son speaks so well. He is not stingy with meat and fish and feathers. He is knowledgeable, because he is not stingy. So after having been an orphan, he is not an orphan anymore."

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Ao yoruduwa rakĕ-guragare, boe eimejerare aoche. Jorudu iwa rakĕ-guragare toro. Du tabore ichare ure awodudo. Kodire aidure awo nono turyeore. Aerudu iwawo tuyorudu iwa rakĕ-guraga du uryeore. Rudumi tu vi mode ma aki akagurure tumugato kodi. Akiwo boe eimejerare aki tumugato. Kodire ure aerudu iwado tumearudae jamĕdu boeji. Oino.

Mare aki amearu toru kare ao boe eimejera bataruji. Aidure aerudu iwado, mare amearu toru kare bataruji. Kodire ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Kodire boe egore: 'ao rabora yoruduwa bokware kodiba ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Oino. Imire paga karega iyorudu iware oino. Kodire boe emago kare toro iyogwaji. Boe egore apore uwo jorudae, mearudae meture. Iya pugeje. Boe kori kare aoji, acheji. Du boe kori kare ai, arugodu kare, ako ki kare. Du boe ego mode: 'u, onaregedu rugadu rabode. Kodire ichare ure nono tuje, tuwo uryeore. Iya keje ao pega kare, ache pega kare, akire ichare apegare. Boe kori barikare ai, arugodu kigodure, ako ki kigodure boei. Ao, ache onaregedu karega ure aki kodi. Aore tuginoi.

Mare ao yorudu iwa bokwa iya boeji, mare nonore ure. Kodire a mode iya karo, iya barogo a mode bito. Du a mode iya rogu maku t jorudu iwarewu mearudu iwarewu ai. Du tabore ichare u mode aerudu iwado. Du tabore boe ego mode: 'Uwo pega, jorudu iwa bokwa kodi karega, akore oino. Mare jetori kare t iya ture bitowu karo, barogo, nabure kuido ikodo aro

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him. 737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of 736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (uwo onaregedu), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (uwo umana onaregedu). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (iyedaga): he was "husband's brother" (oredu umana) to one and "husband's father's son" (Oredu uwo onaregedu) to the other. Still another called him "father" (iyogwa). He was "father's brother" (uwo uviye) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

868 829 593 bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi. Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje. Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

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Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (ere mitotuje, "they are just one"; e kare tuginoi, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

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593 like to stress that they are not really the same person:
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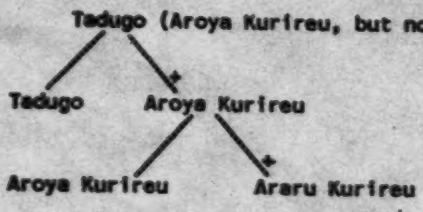
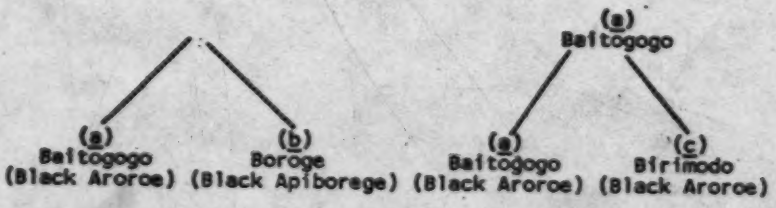


613 The Bororo also express the relation between two lin-
829 eages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother--younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:



Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

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181 A. Equality of like items, or the relationships of equivalence,[1]

B. Inequality of like items, or the relationships of proper inequality,

C. Equality of unlike items, or the relationships of symmetrical reciprocity.

I did not find the fourth possibility expressed in the Bororo social structure: inequality of unlike items; though the work of other researchers indicates that certain forms of hierarchical relationships may exist even between moieties (see page 186).

[61] All three kinds of relationships are expressed most clearly through the idiom of kinship, and all three are necessary to understand the Bororo social and cosmological universe. In previous chapters we have already had the opportunity to see some of these relationships at work. In this chapter I will present the case in greater detail.

A. Relationships of Equivalence

• 593 The first kind of relationship originates in that between a woman and her child, and by successive extensions includes the relationships between sister and brother (= child), sis-

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[1] Equality should be distinguished from equivalence. I consider two items to be equal if they have the same value in respect to some attribute (here it is social status). Equivalent items, in addition to having the same value in regard to the relevant attribute, are also like each other and substitutable for each other.

ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvagedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 [421] It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagududoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

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Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

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established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance). They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, ornaments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and representatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

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"This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also bakugumee eimejera (the chief of the bakugumee, a kind of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo iwararege eimejera (the chief of the Iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."

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"Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumee eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

Chapter XI

CULTURE AND NATURE: AROE AND BOPE

593 772 Many of the relationships between older and younger brothers show the older brother associated with culture and the younger brother associated with nature. Since older and younger brothers are hierarchically related as superior and inferior, we would expect culture and nature to stand in similar hierarchical relationship. Instead, as will be shown in this chapter, culture and nature are not valued as superior and inferior. Their characteristics can be compared, their features can be contrasted, but in most cases culture and nature are not directly related and do not interact with each other.

772 616 The opposition between culture and nature does not affect the relationship of reciprocity between yorubodare, i.e., between moieties. Neither of the two moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature. As we shall see in greater detail later, both moieties can claim some cultural characteristics, and both moieties can claim some natural characteristics.

772 Finally, culture and nature, though not in hierarchical relationship, remain in sharp opposition; and yet from another perspective they could be regarded as equivalent: they

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764 denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into
787 the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the
772 meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature;
533 it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It
is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially
302 the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child
237 is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries.
673 She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of
152 them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is
534 also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the
775 arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the
Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo
304 can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are
593 done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given
414 to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child be-
comes a member of the human race, but particularly a member
of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society.
787 After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams
533 were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to
764 put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

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114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 482 [114] Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many [797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the 121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 593 [171] Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery. While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after [113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

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616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty, and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in public, even though not so scrupulously: it will, however, be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to be together, except when they leave the house and both go to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest: this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal), while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

/135 cont./

573 591 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' [512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not [354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the [603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It [855] continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

836 Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer 431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls [411] in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love [602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the [421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

224 602 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 114 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
• 593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should
not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of
this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation
of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already
found out "that any look or smile between persons of different
sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral."
Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom
and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

562 We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
(Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c.,
p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner:
"When the contention within the hut reached the culminating
point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running
out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one.
Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three
women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One
of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to
meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce
fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center
of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned
in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass
/148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing,
the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure,
the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries
held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the
hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines
of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the
front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and
try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./

578 411 [123] embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women [562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 578 521 152 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy, but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip. Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 178 593 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me: "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 114 797 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in

/149 cont./

562 the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this
114 opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced
797 of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man,
a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy
• [593] of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same
state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles
in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have
now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the
Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in
the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever
by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the
individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity
of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his
natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already
born with him, a composition by which only the individual
is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes
himself from all the other individuals. Although the social
position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way,
seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it
seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the
relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage
is given its own and true configuration, or, said better,
its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals
who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very
pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in
the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the
boundary between the social and the individual being. How
many men are there among us who would like to be dominated
by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and
master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer
with his individuality the influence of the conventions created
by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/154 cont./
301 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this
562 decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care.
[237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment"
[834] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of
[593] the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both
[171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first
[171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting
[613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 774 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow." 114

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity. 114 123 [276] [262] [685]

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents 302 [142] 302 593

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302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the taton canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

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The
226 savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
593 She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

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wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is *mêdo*, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller

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853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes 586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêda*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called sting-ray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

/463 cont./

872 after the other, the boys had to recite after him. For hours they practiced, gaily waving their paper, "bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul." In several months they had not gone beyond this. Caldas himself seemed impatient, and during the short time that we were able to endure the performance he asked three times what time it was. Two Bororó fathers were sitting in the /464/ corner and occasionally also murmured absent-mindedly bal, bel, bil, bol, bul. Among my linguistic notes I find that the Bororó told me, "he is teaching the boys to read"; the sentence in literal translation corresponds exactly to the situation: "he is
876 teaching the boys to look at the paper." Caldas hoped, however, that there would soon be progress; he said the boys were an ill-behaved lot who first had to learn obedience. Up to now he had hit their fingers with a ruler if they did not pay attention. Now, however, he had an improved system of "palmatorios," two specimens of which he showed us. They looked like wooden spoons, except that they had a circular, flat end-piece, and this -- here was the improvement -- was perforated with holes like a sieve. The air whistles through the holes and this increases the pain. Well, I hope the new palmatorios stood the test and that the boys have meanwhile progressed at least as far as xal, xel, xil, xol, xul. In our day the entire result was always just dal, del, dil, dol, dul.

578 The hostile brothers. On 9 April Arateba, in his drunkenness,
[273] again put on one of his sensational performances. Burning with rage, he tears down the house of a widow who would not let him have his way. He is quickly finished with this work, even though he threatens to fall over backwards with each jerk. His brother and two sensible friends hoist him on their shoulders and take him to his hut. There he has the weeping blues for a quarter of an hour, but after cold water has been poured over him he pulls himself together again and appears in front of headquarters. He
593 strides up and down like a roaring lion in a cage and challenges his brother, upon whom he heaps abuse in front of all the people, to a fight. His brother leaps at him and, crouched over, hops back and forth in front of him for a while; then they clutch each other with furious holds. Arateba is thrown to the ground four times.

/464 cont./

593 Then Maria, their sister, steps in with determination and clasps him so firmly that he is unable to move. The brothers are led off in different directions. From Arateba's hut comes the sound of ugly quarreling; again the swaying drunkard appears -- he has a regular criminal's face and, to top it off, a smoothly shorn head -- and forces his way into the hut where his brother is hidden. Resounding blows, blustering voices, a general scuffle. The excited crowd, in the center of which Moguyokuri's figure towers, comes outside, several wrestle with each other, Arateba again lies on the ground, the women now throw themselves heavily into the fray, Maria overpowers the drunken one, and he is dragged away. Everyone is laughing; they go back to the ranchão [273] and several of them say, not unjustly: "piga* pega," "whiskey

* = Portuguese pinga, drop. Vulgar expression for alcohol.

is a bad thing."

000 Discipline. Where such scenes were the order of the day, how could it have been otherwise but that a harmful reaction upon the soldiers /Pl. XXVI appears here/ /465/ would result? The men [648] were embittered because the Indians were idle and they had to do all the work, because the Indian obtained free alcohol to the point of the most flagrant abuse, and they had to pay two milreis for a bottle or five times as much as in the city, because the Indian was permitted to say a contemptuous filho da puta /bastard/ to the faces of the officers without punishment, and they were obliged to go into the xadrez* for their offences. Good-natured Eliseo,

* The detention room. Literally, "chessboard."

however, who was unable to change the system, was guiltless -- indeed, he was lenient enough, for example, to pardon a man who went for him with a knife. Of course, their pay was wasted in card-playing. When payday came, one of them had lost 100 milreis in vinte e um or trinta e um. If they had no money, they would sell their household utensils for a song.

[TEXT Continues on P. 576]

/502 cont./

836 548 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They [602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother. [851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated [561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; [439] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered 838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain 968 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out. [431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows [825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a [602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has ● 593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most 436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú
854 also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head
• 593 between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú
[114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure
765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.